

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

32

**General Wade:**  
soldier who was a  
colossus of roads

**Smugglers' arrest**  
sparked a riot

**Spain's Jacobite**  
ace was trumped  
at Glenshiel

**Ramsay: poet who**  
inspired Burns

**How Glasgow**  
became the  
world's workshop



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ATLANTIC  
OCEAN

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**1710**

Allan Ramsay's bookshop established on Edinburgh's Royal Mile.



**1712**

Ramsay founds the Easy Club in Edinburgh.



**1719**

Spain sponsors Jacobite mini-rising in north west Highlands.



**1722**

Robert Walpole wins the British elections.



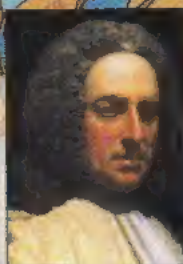
**1720**

Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' is published.



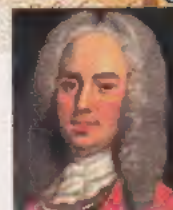
**1733**

Earl of Islay appointed Keeper of the Great Seal in Scotland.



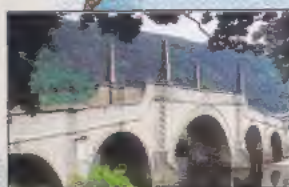
**1725**

George Wade appointed to subdue and 'improve' the Highlands.



**1735**

Wade completes bridge over the Tay at Aberfeldy.



**1736**

Anti-Union feeling sparks 'Porteous Riot' in Edinburgh.



**In Part 33:  
The '45  
Rising**

PART OF  
IRELAND

North  
Channel

PART OF  
ENGLAND





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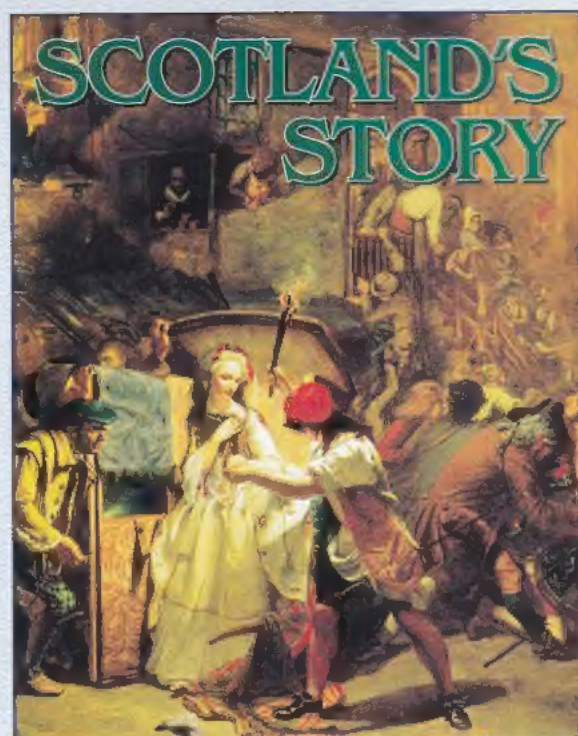
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COVER:  
Mob rule in  
Edinburgh in  
1736. The  
Porteous Riot  
– illustrated  
here by James  
Drummond –  
provoked  
mayhem and  
seriously  
embarrassed  
Walpole's  
government.

# Fast track for the Highlands

Ask the question in any Highland primary school classroom – "Who was General Wade?" – and the chances are that amidst the volley of replies, the word "Roads!" would ring out. Children in the Highlands today are as familiar with Wade as they are with Bonnie Prince Charlie and Flora MacDonald.

Wade was the famous military commander appointed by the government to the task of literally paving the way for commerce, 'improvement' and government authority in the farthest reaches of the Highlands.

Underpinning this was the belief that, in order to make Scotland more loyal to the Hanoverian regime, traditional Highland society had to be destroyed.

A loyal servant of Hanoverian rule, Wade demonstrated his hard military character by leading the suppression of the Shawfield Riot in Glasgow, only months before being appointed to his road building commission.

Wade's road building programme was begun in 1725-26 and by 1738 some 250 miles of roads, along with 42 bridges and viaducts had been constructed, linking key military strategic

points such as Forts George, William and Augustus.

One of the supreme ironies of Wade's roads, however, was that during the 1745 Jacobite Rising, Prince Charles Edward Stuart's forces were able to move swiftly and effectively southwards by using the very roads that were supposed to facilitate the Jacobites' suppression.

Visitors walking amidst the impressive 19th Century architecture of Glasgow's town centre can easily gain the impression that it was once the 'second city of empire'. But perhaps even more impressive is the way that Glasgow has risen from the ashes of post-industrial depression to become a city which is looking forward confidently into the 21st century.

While Scotland's Capital has regained a parliament, Glasgow has accomplished a string of achievements, from City of Culture in 1990 and Architecture in 1999, to being the main rival to London's retail crown in 2000.

Unsurprisingly, Glasgow today prides itself as a leader in new commercial, cultural and artistic endeavours – increasingly viewed by outsiders as one of Europe's finest cities.



# KING'S COULD

When General Wade was sent north, it was not only to build roads for military use but also to transform the Highland economy and subdue the native people

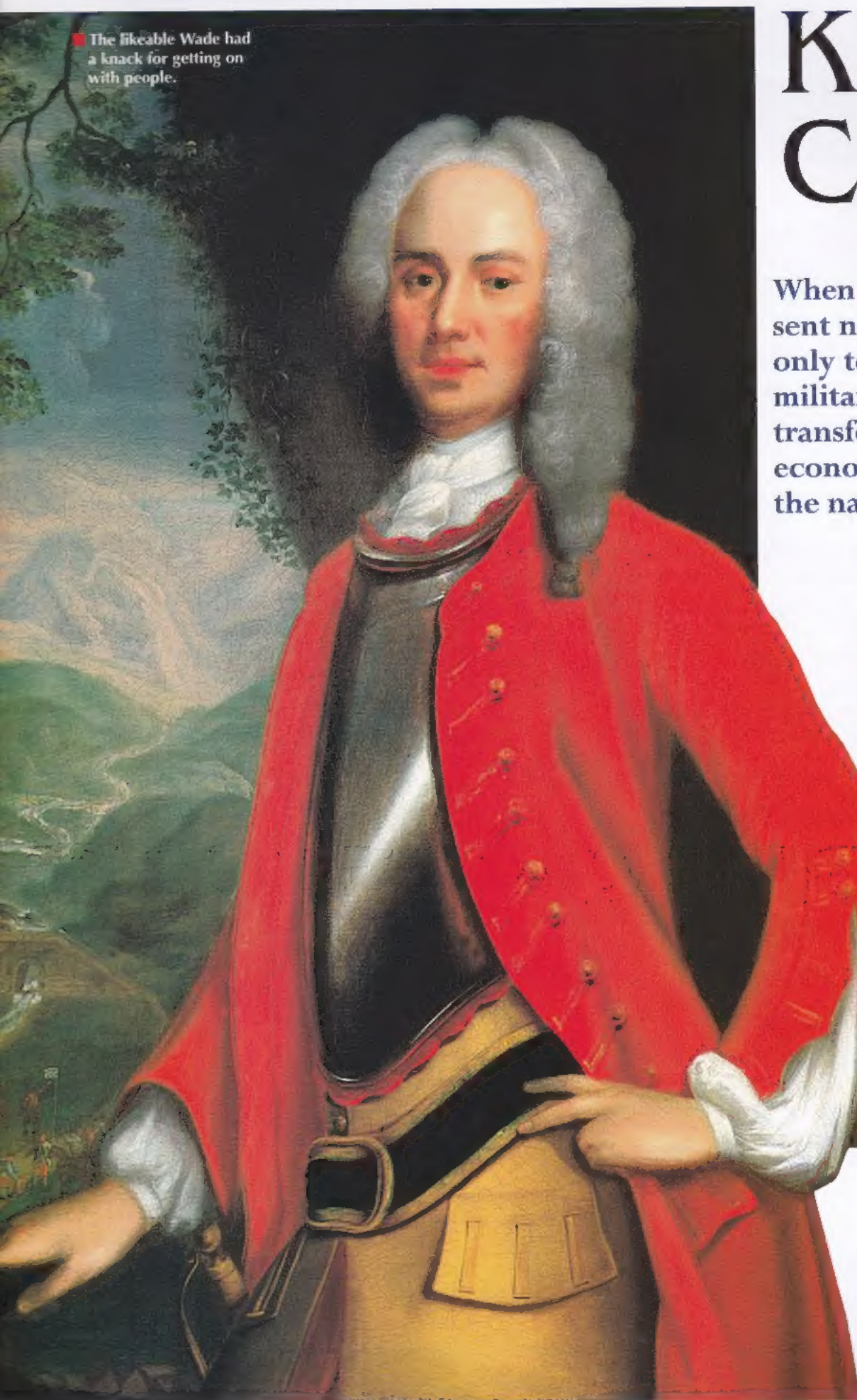
*If you had seen these roads before they were made  
You would hold up your hands and bless  
General Wade*

Supposedly, it was Lord Lovat who started it. At the beginning of 1724 the slippery and devious chief of the Frasers wrote a memorial to King George in London "concerning the State of the Highlands". He said he wanted to bring to His Majesty's attention "the continual robberies and depredations" then rife in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, and their attendant protection rackets – the notorious 'black mail'.

Attempts to disarm the Gaels had only exacerbated the situation: loyal Hanoverian clans, having obediently handed in their weapons, were now a defenceless prey for their Jacobite neighbours. To make matters worse, the local paramilitary police force – the Independent Companies – had been disbanded and replaced by regular redcoat troops, strangers to the land and language of the Highlands.

Lord Lovat suggested that His Majesty might wish to reinstate the Independent Companies, maybe with Lord Lovat himself in charge. Again, he selflessly recommended, in place of the unrepentant Jacobites then administering justice in Inverness-shire, none other than Lord Lovat.

The King and his ministers read Lovat's memorial. His allegations,



■ The likeable Wade had a knack for getting on with people.



# ROAD-BUILDER WHO CHARM AND DISARM

though possibly not altogether without self-interest, were certainly serious enough to warrant an official enquiry. On June 3, King George requested that Major-General George Wade enquire into the situation. The general set out for Scotland the very next day.

The Wade family had settled in Ireland as planters in 1653. Jerome Wade's youngest son, George, was born in 1673, possibly in Tangier.

The young George began his army career as an ensign in 1690, and so spent much of his youth in Flanders, fighting the French. Not only did he survive the perils of battle, siege and fever, but he also showed extraordinary talent as a soldier.

By the astonishingly young age of 22 he was already a captain. After further service in Flanders, then in Portugal and Spain, he eventually reached the rank of major-general in 1714, the year he left active service and became commander of the army in Ireland.

The year 1715 saw Wade sleuthing out Jacobite plots in the fashionable town of Bath. Some seven years later he was elected MP there, a post he held until his death.

George Wade showed himself to be as loyal in the Commons as he was on the battlefield. He had an outstanding military record, a flair for organisation, and had demonstrated a knack for rooting out Jacobite spies.

He was impressively tall, and had a natural gift, doubtless refined during his army years, for getting on with people. He enjoyed gambling with cards, and was partial to bumpers of ale. Wade's mission to the Scottish Gàidhealtachd would be as much to win over suspicious hearts and minds as to subdue its people.

Highland society in the 1720s was not so much disordered as dislocated. Long before Culloden, the old certainties of the clan system were breaking down. Despite the booming droving trade, and the spread of the commercial, consumer society to even the remotest island villages, the Gàidhealtachd was still



■ From the spur at Drumochter, the main route north passes Ruthven Barracks at Kingussie – also built by Wade.

not able fully to share in the growing prosperity of the rest of the country.

High mountains and boggy morasses were a barrier to the merchant as much as to the soldier. Moreover, many clans, Hanoverian as well as Jacobite, remained suspicious of central government, a

response seemingly fully reciprocated.

But Wade's mission may not only have been prompted by Lovat's letter alone. In 1724 the master politicians Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend – with the help of their allies Archibald Campbell, Earl Ilay (now known as Islay), and his elder

brother John, Duke of Argyll – had been able to effect a takeover of Scottish politics. For the first time since the Union of 1707, the country was now fully integrated into the English political system.

The dispatching of Wade northwards, supposedly at the





■ Lord Lovat: his letter to King George prompted the sending north of Wade.

► request of the Campbell ally Lord Lovat, should be seen as part of this shake-up.

We might consider his programme for the economic development of the Highlands in a wider context, in the same light as the establishment of the Board for the Improvement of Manufactures in 1726, and that of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1727.

For Wade and his Campbell allies were aiming for nothing less than a transformation of Scotland's economy and politics.

Wade spent the rest of 1724 travelling around the Highlands. By the end of the year his report was ready. He was appointed Commander of the Forces in North Britain, with powers to carry out whatever reforms he should see as suitable.

Firstly, Wade ordered that six Independent Companies be raised, not only as a mobile police force to combat cattle thieving, but also as government informers – an official spy network. The commanders, mostly Campbells, knew Gaelic, and were well connected to the major families of the Gàidhealtachd. They were thus in an ideal position to supply intelligence to London about any possible subversive moves afoot in the north.

Indeed, the incentive of good regular pay in a company might ensure obedience from unruly

gentry. Company officers would thus learn loyalty to the British state. Incidentally, Wade ordered that the companies wear dark-coloured tartan, probably as camouflage. The resulting pattern took its name from its wearers – Am Freiceadan Dubh, or the Black Watch.

The most delicate problem facing Wade was how to enforce a new, more comprehensive Disarming Act. Bearing arms was the mark of a man in the Gàidhealtachd. Attempting to confiscate them would be as dangerous there as in present-day Kosovo – or Texas. At the same time, the General and his Campbell allies wanted to win over the recalcitrant chiefs.

Wade was thus given permission to negotiate with those tainted with high treason after the Jacobite risings of the 1700s and 1710s. This conciliatory approach, together with his own innate clubability, meant that Wade was able to win over many Highland gentry.

Buoyed by an initial success with the recalcitrant Clan Mackenzie, he proceeded to travel around the Highlands gathering weapons. Not a great deal was collected – indeed, it was rumoured that the best were still hidden away – but Wade at least was well satisfied with his haul.

By the end of 1725 it was evident that the General's mission had been

a startling success. Many erstwhile Jacobites had submitted to government authority. Cattle thieving in the Highlands had all but disappeared.

And it was all done remarkably cheaply – the whole operation had cost only £2,000.

Having laid the foundations for peace in the region, Wade could then turn to the project for which he is famous – the great road-building programme. Every year between 300 and 500 soldiers were employed as navvies constructing the gravel roads (about 16 feet wide), using tools sent up to Scotland from the Tower of London. Following Roman models, Wade had the roads run in straight lines, disregarding hillocks and slopes wherever possible.

For the first two years, Wade occupied himself with constructing roads with military potential. These ran down the Great Glen, between the renovated Fort George at Inverness, and Fort William, with a new stronghold named Fort Augustus between the two.

To the astonishment of the inhabitants, a military galley was launched on Loch Ness.

After 1728 the General worked on roads linking the Gàidhealtachd with the south. These ran from Inverness to Dunkeld, from Dalnacardoch to Crieff, and – via the vertiginous switchbacks of the Corrieyairack Pass – from Fort Augustus to Dalwhinnie.

Barrack huts accommodating the soldiers were subsequently converted into droving inns – the 'King's Houses'. The crowning glory of the whole project was the magnificent bridge over the Tay at Aberfeldy designed by William Adam. Costing around £4,000 – a huge sum

for fear of going soft! After the completion of his programme, Wade spent little time in Scotland.

He was appointed a field-marshal in 1743, and the next year he crossed the Channel to assume command of the British army in Flanders, in a new war against France.

However, Wade was by now old and asthmatic. Never having commanded an army in the field, he was soon hopelessly out-generaled. Following a string of defeats, and lampooned by the French, Wade resigned his command. However, any hopes of a comfortable retirement were scuppered by the outbreak of the Jacobite Rising of 1745.

The General had bitterly complained about the recent withdrawal of the Independent Companies from the Highlands to fight in Flanders as the Black Watch regiment. Now, his worst fears seemed justified.

Although an extra verse was added to the National Anthem, urging Marshal Wade "the rebellious Scots to crush", the old General found himself outmanoeuvred by the Jacobite commanders – many of them his erstwhile friends.

Ironically enough, they had been able to move swiftly south along the very roads he himself had built. The Jacobites deftly sidestepped Wade's army in Newcastle and marched south via Carlisle. At last, Wade was relieved of the command of His Majesty's forces in Britain by the Duke of Cumberland.

It is to be regretted that the genial, seasoned veteran was not in command after Culloden instead of the brutal, sadistic Cumberland.

Wade spent the last years of his life in Highgate near London. He died aged 75 in 1748. Although he

**His innate clubability meant General Wade was able to win over many Highland gentry**

then – it was completed in 1735.

The roads certainly opened up the Gàidhealtachd, not only to the military and economic power of the south, but increasingly also to a new breed of Highlands tourists.

Some local Gaels, however, remained somewhat ambivalent about them. They complained that their horses now had to be shod. It was even reported that they preferred crossing fords to bridges,

never married, he had four illegitimate children to whom he left the bulk of his £100,000 fortune.

He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where he has a magnificent memorial in the south aisle.

For Scots, of course, Wade's real monument must be the 250 miles of roads constructed under his command, which did so much to link the Scottish Gàidhealtachd with the south – for both good and ill. ●



# LYNCHED BY A FURIOUS MOB



■ The crowd surges around St Giles, as the 'trapped' Lord Provost and other magistrates are surprised and intimidated by the riot's scale and fury.

**When he tried to quell crowds at a smuggler's hanging, the guard captain sparked a riot of political and other consequences that included his own bizarre execution**

**W**hen three smugglers attempted – without success – to rob an excise officer in Fife, the episode had profound political consequences. It led to the city guard of Edinburgh firing on the crowd watching the execution of one of the criminals – and then to a remarkable riot in which the captain of the guard was lynched.

This in turn prompted a major parliamentary enquiry which seriously embarrassed Sir Robert

Walpole's government. It ended in an attempt to punish the city of Edinburgh that provoked resistance across Scotland.

The episode even made people question the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, and it later formed one of the central elements in Sir Walter Scott's novel 'The Heart of Midlothian'.

So what exactly happened?

On January 9, 1736, smuggler Andrew Wilson decided – along with accomplices William Hall and

George Robertson – to rob an excise officer lodging at an ale-house in Pittenweem, Fife.

The attack was bungled and William Hall was soon arrested. He quickly betrayed his accomplices. The three prisoners were imprisoned in the Tolbooth, on the High Street in Edinburgh, to await trial.

The local populace had considerable sympathy for the accused, especially after they were sentenced to be hanged in the Grassmarket on April 14, 1736. Two weeks before this ▶



## The death sentence aroused much concern in London where it was feared that Porteous was being sacrificed to the fury of the mob

▶ date Hall's sentence was commuted to transportation for life. A few days later, on April 9, Wilson and Robertson made a daring escape attempt, but it failed. Two days after that, on a Sunday, the pair tried again to escape as they were being taken to the nearby Tolbooth Church. Both prisoners made a dash for freedom.

Robertson, the more agile, made good his escape, while Wilson – who was restrained – managed to keep the guards busy to help his friend's flight.

Wilson's heroics increased sympathy for him and the civic authorities were very concerned that an effort might be made to rescue him on the day of his execution.

The Lord Provost, Alexander Wilson, decided all the city guards, commanded by Captain John Porteous, should be on duty in the Grassmarket.

Porteous was proud of his authority and determined to maintain order. His critics later called him a bad-tempered bully, a wife-beater and drunkard. A huge, sullen crowd, apparently in an ominous mood, attended the execution.

Porteous was angry, tense and expecting trouble, but no attempt was made to rescue Wilson. Only when his body was being cut down did the crowd surge forward. Several guards were injured in the ensuing scuffle. The guards over-reacted to the danger facing them. Some witnesses later claimed that Captain Porteous lost his temper and fired on the crowd.

Others claimed it was a guard near Porteous who panicked and fired first. This first shot was quickly followed by others. Three of the crowd were killed and about 12 wounded. As the city guards retreated up the West Bow, three more rioters were killed. The Lord Provost and the other city magistrates were horrified at the scale of this disaster and fearful of the vengeful mood of the local populace. Porteous and 15 guards were arrested, but the trial was delayed until July 5, 1736, when Duncan Forbes prosecuted Porteous before Andrew Fletcher, the Lord Justice Clerk.

Throughout the trial a large,

angry crowd surrounded the court. They may have intimidated some of the witnesses. Several witnesses denied that Porteous had fired or given the order to fire.

But, given the climate of opinion in Edinburgh, it was not surprising that Porteous was found guilty of murder and sentenced to be executed in the Grassmarket on September 8, 1736. Once he had been sentenced, there was little interest in pursuing the case against the other guards.

This verdict aroused considerable concern in London, where it was feared Porteous was being sacrificed to the fury of the mob.

Walpole's Scottish political manager, the Earl of Islay, was more concerned with opinion in London than in Scotland. He urged the judge at the trial to show clemency. A stay of execution was agreed. When this news reached Edinburgh, it clearly caused deep resentment.

Rumours of a plot to murder Porteous soon spread, but no effort was made to make him more secure. There were few city guards on duty on September 7 and they were not armed.

Shortly after 9 pm that evening, a large crowd began to gather outside the West Port. When it numbered about 4,000, it stormed through the old city – as a disciplined force, not a furious rabble. Clearly determined and well-led, the rioters quickly seized both Cowgate Port and Nether Bow Port, cutting off the Tolbooth prison from troops stationed in the Castle and in the Canongate. They soon frightened away the city guards and set about breaking their way into the Tolbooth prison. Surprised and intimidated by the scale and fury of the riot, the Lord Provost and other magistrates decided they could not restore order on their own initiative. They were trapped in the High Street, unable to reach either the Castle or Holyrood.

Patrick Lindsay, MP for Edinburgh, did eventually evade the rioters and reached the troops in the Canongate, but he had no written warrant to summon them to the assistance of the civil authorities. The troops in the castle would also not act without written authorisation from the civil authorities. It took another two hours to get authorisation from



Andrew Fletcher, the Lord Justice Clerk. By that time Porteous was already dead. The strong defences of the Tolbooth held up the rioters until about 11.30pm. Porteous was then seized and dragged roughly through the streets to the Grassmarket, where he was lynched from a dyer's pole.

When he tried to stop the rope tightening around his neck, his arm and shoulder were broken. He died just before midnight, though his body was not cut down until around 5am on the day originally set for his execution.

It appears likely that the riot was the work of friends of some of those shot by the city guards in April. Some of those who gave evidence against Porteous at his trial appear to

have later played a leading role in his lynching. The magistrates issued a proclamation accusing 23 local men of being involved in the riot. All of them lived in Edinburgh and they included butchers, bakers, wig-makers, carpenters, shoemakers, and journeymen and apprentices employed by such tradesmen.

William Maclauchlane, a footman to the Countess of Wemyss, was put on trial, but the jury unanimously found him not guilty. When the Edinburgh magistrates failed to convict any of the rioters, the government in London faced a major parliamentary enquiry in the House of Lords on the role of the civil and military authorities in Edinburgh.

The Lord Provost, Patrick Lindsay





■ An unpleasant post-Union moment: *The Porteous Mob in action*, as painted by James Drummond in 1855.

MP, and the military commanders were all forced to give evidence.

The opposition in parliament, anxious to embarrass Walpole's government, wanted to imprison Provost Wilson, to disband the city guard, and to pull down the Nether Bow Port. This alarmed the Earl of Islay and other Scots peers, who at last recognised the damage being done to the government by its apparent support for Porteous and its hostility to popular opinion in Edinburgh.

While they were prepared to condemn the rioters, they were reluctant to punish the Edinburgh magistrates and the city of Edinburgh. They feared such penalties would alienate the Scots. Islay's brother, the

Duke of Argyll, was particularly incensed at the suggestion that Edinburgh should be punished. The government, however, was more interested in placating the parliamentary opposition and agreed to accept a bill punishing Provost Wilson and the Scottish capital.

Seven Scots peers were persuaded to agree with the ministry, but Islay abstained and his fiery brother, Argyll, voted against the bill. This marked the opening of his breach with Walpole's administration.

In the House of Commons the Scottish members were more united in opposition to the bill. Duncan Forbes and Patrick Lindsay both voted against the bill. Recognising the damage that the bill was now

causing his government in Scotland, Walpole now decided to conciliate his critics. The bill of penalties was amended. The only punitive clauses which remained in it were those debarring Lord Provost Wilson from public office and fining Edinburgh £2,000, as compensation for the widow of Captain Porteous.

The Scots peers welcomed these amendments, while the government was relieved not to have suffered even worse damage. But the government blundered into yet another political crisis by deciding to pass an act offering a reward of £200 to anyone who could provide evidence that would lead to the conviction of any of the rioters.

A clause in the bill unwisely

ordered the act to be read in every church in Scotland on the first Sunday of every month for a year. This provoked outrage. A large and rising number of ministers in churches throughout Scotland refused to read the act. Some who did found themselves addressing empty churches or facing violence.

Once more the government learned its lesson late in the day. It dropped any attempt to force ministers to read the act or to punish those who had refused to do so.

Sir Robert Walpole could never have expected that the execution of a petty criminal like Andrew Wilson would have caused him so much political trouble in Scotland and so undermined his careful attempts to manage Scottish affairs. ●



# A Jacobite 'ace' that

It was a little rising in many ways – little fleets, armies and enthusiasm. In any case the '19 was really about Spain's political woes

**T**he rising of 1719 was never intended to be a peculiarly Scottish event. Yet it is usually remembered as such. Posterity has mistaken the tree for the wood.

The rising only occurred at all because of European great-power politics in the late 1710s. And great power relations at that time were dominated by the outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession.

France fought the war to try to put Philip V, a grandson of the French king Louis XIV, on the throne of Spain. Militarily, France was badly defeated, but Louis XIV secured a relatively lenient peace for France by bargaining away his grandson's rights and territories.

Under the terms of the peace of Utrecht of 1713, Philip V kept the throne of Spain, but was barred from inheriting the throne of France – a serious prospect at the time, as Louis XIV's heir was a sickly little boy and Philip was next in line – and had to cede the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) and all Spain's territories in Italy.

Spain was thus shorn of the most valuable parts of its European empire and its king denied even the possibility of inheriting the richest prize in Europe.

Unsurprisingly, Philip V soon began looking for a way to revise the peace settlement. There was, however, a major obstacle. After Louis XIV's death in 1715 the Duke of Orléans became regent for Louis's great grandson, the future Louis XV. If the boy died and the ban on

Philip V succeeding him stood, Orléans would inherit the crown of France. The regent thus had a real incentive to maintain the peace settlement. He needed allies to achieve this, and there was one to hand – the new Hanoverian king of Britain, George I.

George needed international stability to consolidate his hold on the British throne, which he inherited when the last Protestant Stuart, Queen Anne, died in 1714.

By 1716 he had already faced a

major rebellion in Scotland and northern England, and so he too was in search of an ally who wanted to maintain the international status quo.

The outcome was an extraordinary alliance. In 1716 France and Britain allied. France was the strongest land power; Britain the strongest sea power. Together they could easily put a stop to Philip V's hopes of recouping Spain's losses.

Philip nonetheless resorted to force, and conquered Sicily in a lightning invasion in 1717. All

looked well until an allied fleet turned up, sank the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro in August, 1718, and stranded the main Spanish army on the island. Meanwhile, the French mobilised their army to invade northern Spain. With the war going badly and worse in prospect, the Spanish government desperately looked for a gambit that could retrieve the situation.

And so the Jacobites became Spain's ace in the hole. For if Spain could land an invasion force in

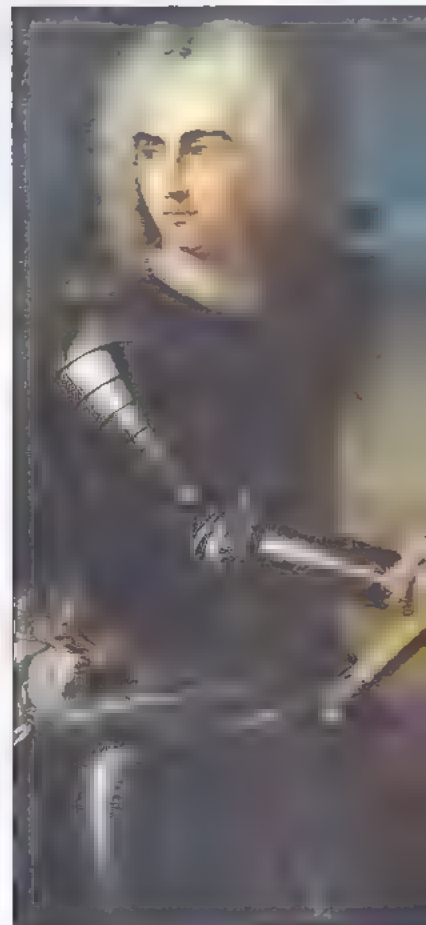




# didn't play for Spain



■ The Battle of Glenshiel (left) at which the Jacobite army was cornered by a smaller government force. The Earl of Marischal (right) escaped after the clash.



Scottish expedition. The focus of Spanish efforts was to be the invasion of England.

The key problem facing the Spanish was that they had very little time. The French were set to invade northern Spain as soon as winter ended and the Royal Navy would be able to intercept any invasion fleet before it even got close to the British Isles once the weather broke.

The invasion had, therefore, to be launched in mid-winter, the worst time of year for storms in the eastern Atlantic.

The result was that when the main expedition sailed on February 25, 1719, it ran into storms and was blown back to Spain, where the plan was abandoned and the troops rushed off to defend Spain's northern frontier.

The secondary expedition, consisting of only two ships, however, managed to reach Lewis on April 9. There the Earl Marischal was joined by another shipload of Scottish exiles from France led by the Marquis of Tullibardine who, after some dispute, took command of all but the Spanish forces from Marischal and – after further arguments – transferred his small army to the mainland.

The clans were unenthusiastic at the prospect of another rising, and the Lowland Jacobites were even less willing. Clan chieftains, such as the Earl of Seaforth, among the quarrelsome Scots exiles nonetheless managed to persuade about 1,000 of their men to turn out. The morale of the little army, however, was not

good, and fell further when it became apparent that Ormond and the main expedition had failed.

After nearly two months of half-hearted dawdling in the Scottish Highlands, the Jacobite army was cornered at Glenshiel by a smaller government force under Major General James Wemyss.

Unusually for the time, the Jacobites had done very well and stood in good stead. Wemyss, however, was a vigorous attacker and was supported by heavy artillery. The Jacobites fought bravely for a while, then, having the Spaniards nearby to surrender according to the 18th-century laws of war.

Casualties on both sides were light, all the Jacobite leaders escaped back to the Continent and there were few reprisals by government forces. Spain soon afterwards made peace with France and Britain and the war fizzled out, much like the rising in Scotland.

There was to be no further serious trouble with the Jacobites for 26 years. ●

Britain and spark another major Jacobite rising. Philip and his ministers believed they could disrupt the Franco-British alliance and maybe even win the war.

Cardinal Alberoni, Philip V's premier minister, accordingly summoned James Francis Edward Stuart – the Old Pretender – to Spain. He then began working frantically to get an invasion fleet and sufficient troops together.

The ad hoc plan was for the main invasion, led by the Irish Jacobite

Duke of Ormond, to land in south western England, and a secondary invasion, led by the Scots Earl Marischal, to land in Scotland.

The Scots operation was purely diversionary. After the disastrous rising of 1715-16, the Scots Jacobites were disinclined to rebel again unless they saw the English Jacobites out in force and regular Spanish troops landed in the British Isles.

The Spanish plan therefore assigned only one battalion of Spaniards (about 400 men) to the



# CLASSICAL MUSIC

**The founding of the Edinburgh Musical Society in 1728 started a golden age for Scots classical music as composers, players and publishers dared to harmonise with Europe's greatest names**

**C**lassical music – especially the large scale, orchestral variety that emerged during the 18th century – depends on a complex infrastructure. It requires highly (and expensively) trained players, a supply of printed music, and venues with audiences big enough to make it pay. It's not surprising, then, that this kind of music flourishes at certain times and places more than others.

Think of Vienna at the time of Mozart, Schubert and Beethoven. Or St Petersburg at the time of Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov. Although not quite in the same league musically, since the names of its composers are not now household names, the Edinburgh of the 1770s was one such thriving musical centre.

The Church's hold on cultural life had relaxed at the end of the previous century – and dances, dramatic performances and concerts had begun to take place. The city was relatively wealthy, liberal and cosmopolitan.

By the 1750s, music publishing had become a major business. Instrument-makers and importers were doing a roaring trade. And at the heart of it all was the Edinburgh Musical Society, formally established in 1728, but going back – under various names – to the 1690s. It met first in the Cross Keys Tavern on the High Street, then at St Mary's Chapel, on Niddry's Wynd, before building a hall of its own. This was St Cecilia's Hall, on the Cowgate,

opened in 1762 and still standing today.

The Musical Society presented weekly Friday-night concerts of orchestral, vocal and choral music, by some of the leading composers of the day. Handel, in particular, was a great favourite. Originally, all the members of the Society were performers (it was a kind of association of well-to-do amateur musicians) but in due course it began to attract non-performing members, and used its growing income to pay the salaries of professional musicians.

One of the visitors to the city in Tobias Smollett's novel, *The Adventures of Humphry Clinker* (1771), reported: "All the diversions of London we enjoy at Edinburgh in a small compass. Here is a well-conducted concert, in which several gentlemen perform on different instruments – the Scots are all musicians. Every man you meet plays on the flute, the violin, or violoncello, and there is one nobleman, whose compositions are universally admired."

But the Society also attracted a number of leading musicians from Europe, including the German Johann Schetky, and the Italians Domenico Corri and Francesco Barsanti, who supplemented their salary with some private teaching.

The foreigners were much better trained than the native Scots, who did not have the same opportunities for formal musical education. And indeed, the Scottish-born composers



**Flying Scots** – to Niall Gow's fiddle as an 18th-century Highland dance goes into full swing. The painting is by artist David Allan.

of the period often moved to London or the Continent to pursue their careers.

At the end of the 17th century, for instance, John Abell from Aberdeen made a name for himself at the Chapel Royal in London. And Sir John Clerk of Penicuik studied with Corelli in Rome in the 1690s, leaving a small but precious body of work, including a defiant cantata inspired by the Darien adventure, *Leo Sentiae Irritatus* ('The Scottish Lion Angered'). The nobleman

referred to by Smollett was probably Thomas Erskine, the sixth Earl of Kelly. He too first went abroad to complete his education. His father was imprisoned as a Jacobite, and the young son studied composition in the 1750s at Mannheim, whose 'school' made a considerable impression on the young Mozart.

Thomas Erskine returned to Edinburgh to play a leading role in the Musical Society. Though much praised at the time – he was the first British composer to write in the



# OF A GOLDEN AGE



Mannheim style – little of his music seems to have survived, and his little symphonies were recorded for the first time only very recently.

With all these overseas influences, it comes as no surprise that this music doesn't sound particularly 'Scottish'. In any case, the folk tradition was relatively independent of the developments in classical music in Scotland – and thrived long before Edinburgh's Musical Society rose to prominence and continued long after. But the two traditions

were not entirely separate from each other.

For instance, it was during the 18th century that folk musicians took over the new Italian import, the violin, and made it their own, adapting the tunes of popular songs and reworking them for dance purposes. On the other hand, classical musicians learned the tunes and began to write them down and publish them. Many instrumentalists worked in both styles, and until a handful of distinguished, literate

fiddle players emerged towards the end of the century (Niel Gow, his son Nathaniel, and William Marshall), the only way to earn a living was in the classical style.

One composer who did this was James Oswald. Born in 1710, he was a dancer, fiddler, and composer. He spent time in London, where he became a music publisher,

and his most famous work was called *The Temple of Music*. He was appointed composer to King George II.

His most ambitious work was a series of 96 sonatas called *Airs for the Seasons*, each named after a flower, tree or shrub, grouped into four books, titled not surprisingly – Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. Alongside pieces in the Italian style which dominated the period are unmistakably Scottish tunes. Their hybrid character is ▶





Sylvan frolics of Sir John Haikett, his wife and family – supplying their own music. The painting and those on the previous page are both by David Allan.

Burns collected hundreds of old Scots songs and revised many in their original spirit. 'Let our National Music preserve its native features,' he declared

► evident in the recent recordings released on CD, some performers choose to render them in a genteel, polished manner while others take a more rumbustious approach more suited to a dance than the concert hall

Oswald's music was not, however, to everyone's liking. A visiting Benjamin Franklin paid tribute to "the plain old Scottish tune" which he complained composers of 'modern taste' detracted from with complicated arrangements

"Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his cello," he

wrote, "will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet, I think, even his playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament."

While Oswald published some of the first collections of 'Scots tunes', the period also saw the first major publications of 'national song'

However, Allan Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany* (1724-37) and William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725) have been criticised for the way they gentrified the tradition,

censoring and anglicising them for the benefit of the 'refined' audiences of London and Edinburgh. Unfortunately they became standard and many classical musicians mistook them for the real thing

The six-volume *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803) published by James Johnson was more authentic, thanks not least to the contribution of Robert Burns, who collected hundreds of songs.

Burns revised and added new verses to many of them but, unlike Ramsay, is considered to have done this in the spirit of the tradition,





## FIDDLE HOLDS CENTRE STAGE

Classical and folk music have long had a close relationship in

Scotland. A good example is to be found in the history of the violin, or fiddle.

The present day Scots fiddle style was largely a creation of the period 1720-1750, when the Italian baroque violin was imported.

This newly-redesigned violin had become the dominant musical instrument in Europe during the late 17th century.

When it reached Scotland it took over folk as well as classical music. As a result, other instruments such as the lute, mandora, recorder, oboe, gamba and Border bagpipe lost out in popularity.

The violin also made inroads into the Highlands during the years 1747-82, when the great Highland bagpipe was proscribed by the government as an instrument of war.

The bagpipe also had its own classical tradition – ceol mòr. Before long, Lowland fiddle repertoires – and adaptations of them – became widely known in the Highlands.

Today, the fiddle is used commercially and in 'folk revivals' across Scotland's rural communities, towns and cities and is widely used in the recording industry.

An interesting consequence of the 18th-century importation of the baroque violin is that the Scots conservative fiddle technique, is considered the most authentic survival of baroque violin playing left anywhere in Europe.

rather than in violation of it

"Let our National Music preserve its native features," he declared. "They are, I own, frequently wild and unreduceable to the more modern rules, but on that very eccentricity, perhaps, depends a great part of their effect."

Burns collaborated with Edinburgh publisher George Thomson, who persuaded some of the leading European composers of the day to write piano accompaniments (which the Musical Museum lacked).

His Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs (1793-1841) has

attracted scorn – not least for the way these composers simply failed to understand the structure of Scottish folk music. It was not something that could be assimilated to the major tonal structure of classical music, for which keyboard instruments were specifically designed.

Thomson's commissions did not inspire Beethoven or Haydn to produce their best work – and indeed Haydn passed on some of his assignments to others – but they were not helped by fact that they were never sent the words, so they had no idea what the songs were

actually about. On the other hand, without their efforts we would probably have been deprived of the slightly bizarre pleasure of hearing Dame Janet Baker singing "They'll scug ill een frae you and me, My ain kind dearie, O!" to the gentle accompaniment of violin and harpsichord.

After 1776, Edinburgh's Musical Society ran into financial difficulties and it closed in 1798.

The brief period of creativity was at an end. And it was not until the 1960s that Scotland would again thrive as a classical musical centre.



# Poetic trailblazer in

Allan Ramsay remains a key figure in the development of Scottish literature. The painting is by William Aikman.

**The remarkable Allan Ramsay, poet, innovator, bookseller and satirist was a people's champion and supporter of pre-Union folk traditions**

Allan Ramsay (1684-1758) is today little known except to students of Scottish literature, but he is an individual who did a great deal to shape the self-image of Scottish culture following the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707.

During the early 18th century, Ramsay was the most important initiator in the revival of interest in folk-culture, the Scots language and Scottish literature that continues with us down to the present day.

Ramsay was a bookseller who established perhaps the first touring library in Britain from his bookshop in 1725. He was also keenly interested in the visual arts. In 1729 he helped found a school of painting, sculpture and architecture in Edinburgh – the Academy of St Luke. It was here that his son, also Allan (1713-84), began his craft (Allan Ramsay junior was to become one of Scotland's most famous painters.)

In 1736 in the face of Scotland's traditional puritanical hostility to drama, Ramsay opened a theatre in Carrubers' Close in the capital, though this was forced to close before long as a result of licensing difficulties invoked by the hostile Edinburgh city fathers. Ramsay was, then, a veritable cultural activist and entrepreneur.

He was born in the mining area of Leadhills, Lanarkshire, but in 1700, at the age of 15, was apprenticed to a wigmaker in Edinburgh. In 1710 he became a burgher of the city and shortly afterwards opened his first bookshop, perhaps in the Grassmarket area of the capital.

Although Ramsay's fairly long life was, on the one hand, a story of increasing business prosperity and respectability, he was also something of a cultural dissident in relation to Hanoverian Britain. He opposed the

parliamentary union of 1707, he disliked the Presbyterian culture of Edinburgh and he displayed allegiance to the deposed Stuart monarchy. All of these stances were integral to his literary activities, begun properly in the Easy Club, which he helped found in Edinburgh in 1712. This literary society attempted to revitalise its surrounding environment, as it promoted critical debate about the contemporary state of Scotland and fostered poetry.

The Easy Club was proud of – and paid for – the printing of Ramsay's first published work, 'A Poem to the Memory of the Famous Archibald Pitcairne, M.D.' (1713), which laments the recent death of a Jacobite and Episcopalian surgeon and writer. In 'Poem to Pitcairne', Ramsay stages the appearance of those ancient Scottish warrior-icons Robert the Bruce and William Wallace in conversation with Pitcairne in the afterlife. To Bruce's questioning on the health of Scotland in the 18th century, Pitcairne replies that self-interest on the part of those involved in modern party politics prevents real national unity or progress.

The poem also complains of false men of influence who had engineered the parliamentary union of 1707 after being bought off with English gold. With Ramsay, then, a set of icons and a political vocabulary which remain very familiar to Scotland in the 21st century come into sharp focus.

In his Easy Club days, Ramsay began to write and perform poetry in Scots. With his work in Scots he popularised the use of that stanza form which was later to become known as the 'Burns stanza' (through its persistent use by Scotland's national bard – a great admirer of Ramsay's work).

One of Ramsay's finest pieces in this mode is 'Lucky Spence's' 'Last



# the Scots tongue

■ High Street home. . . Allan Ramsay's house and bookshop on Edinburgh's Royal Mile.



Advice' (1718) It presents the words of the madam of a brothel, the Lucky Spence, who dispenses wisdom to her 'loving lasses' (her prostitutes) from whom she is about to be severed. In this witty way, where the pimp usurps and inverts the dignified voice of a more traditional social elder, the poem depicts the world upside down.

Reciting a manual of dishonest and sexually-explicit tricks of the trade, Lucky Spence counsels her

girls when dealing with customers who demur to pay for their services. The poem also depicts the customer's fear of the kirk by reporting them to the authorities.

*Demands o' whinging fools,  
That I might for repenting stools  
Tie them, when their metal cools  
Till they are as good as  
The kirk has had the dools  
And the kirk has*

The stern institution of Scottish

Presbyterianism, then, is actually pressed into service by the wily prostitute.

Like so many of Ramsay's comic pieces, we are aware of more serious purposes amidst the bawdy humour. The poem is a satirical portrait of the hollow institutions and the moral and economic corruption of modern, market-driven (Hanoverian) Scotland.

In 1718 Ramsay also published his edition of 'Christ's Kirk on the Green', a Medieval poem celebrating

folk-festivities. The polemical purpose of Ramsay's antiquarianism in this work is clear. It highlights an ancient sense of fun and community, celebrated traditionally in Scottish literature, flying in the face of the dominant Scottish religious mindset of the early 18th century, which was rigidly censorious of human weakness and hostile to the profane crafts of poetry and song-making. Ramsay's literary ►





■ Allan Ramsay's verse reflected the lives of ordinary people as depicted by artist David Allan's illustration from 'The Gentle Shepherd'.

► revivalism came to the fore with his volumes of 'The Tea-Table Miscellany' (1723-37) and 'The Ever Green' (1724). The second of these collections presented more widely and forcefully Ramsay's concern to re-acquaint Scotland with its Medieval poetic heritage from which the nation had become partially estranged through the Calvinistic iconoclasm of the Scottish Reformation.

'The Tea-Table Miscellany' became a hugely successful anthology, republished frequently throughout the following two centuries. It broadcast and found favour for traditionally popular songs in both Scots and English – in an audience that spanned the entire strata of Scottish society.

Ramsay also collected and published Jacobite songs and was one of the first 'bottle' or

'sentimental' Jacobites known, bewailing the loss to Britain of its indigenous Scottish royal house, the Stuarts – a phenomenon that was to become virulent over the next 200 years. (Ramsay himself took off for the country, fleeing when the army of Charles Stuart actually entered and took over Edinburgh in 1745.)

The cultural mentality of Ramsay's original poetry and his editorial labours can be traced within the context of pro-Stuart anti-Unionist publishing and scholarship. A spur to both of these facets of Ramsay's literary career was the 'Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems' (1706, 1709 and 1711), produced by the Jacobite printer James Watson (d. 1722), who had spent time in prison for his political beliefs. From this collection Ramsay imbibed the

'Burns stanza', or what he called the 'Standard Habbie' since he found this in the Choice Collection's 'The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan', a piece mourning the loss of 'Habbie Simson.' This poem is attributed to Robert Sempill of Beltrees (c.1595-c.1665), a Scottish cavalier during the English Civil War. It celebrates the life of Simson, a prodigiously skilful musician who had added lustre to many occasions of country festivity.

It was one of a number of works which demonstrated for men like Ramsay that the old pre-Union, Stuart dynasty of Scotland, with its range of Episcopalian and Catholic traditional preferences, accommodated a more coherent culture than now dominantly existed in the first part of the 18th century. In the Stuart days, poets with the highest cultural associations had appreciated also the demotic

traditions of the folk. Ramsay was in receipt of a twin impetus towards writing and editing poetry in the Scots language. Firstly, from the respect for 'simple' Scots folksongs and folk-traditions, which he found in the culture of those loyal to the Stuarts. Secondly, in his awareness of a Medieval tradition of Scots language poetry as well-wrought as that of other Medieval European literature.

Ramsay's 'Ever Green', in which he drew heavily upon the pioneering editorial scholarship of his own publisher – yet another Jacobite, Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) – extended in range and depth the project initiated by Watson of reviving interest in the lustre of Scotland's Medieval literature.

Ramsay's confident, scholarly, anthropological interest in the Scots language can be seen also in another of his pathbreaking editorial labours, his 'A Collection of Scots Proverbs' (1737).

Ramsay also innovated in Scottish literature by setting some of the folk songs he wrote or adapted himself in his pastoral drama, 'The Gentle Shepherd' (1725). This was the most performed piece of Scottish theatre (including many open air, rural performances) over the next 150 years or so.

Thematically backward-looking it depicts harmony ensuing from the return of a Scottish Cavalier squire to his community following the Restoration of 1660 and the short-lived return of the Stuart monarchy in Britain – the piece is also one that looks forward. This is achieved through its use of Scots within the context of one of the most fashionable literary genres of the early 18th century.

The use of Scots here by Ramsay, and in a range of poems throughout the first three decades of the 18th century – encompassing the modes of ode, verse-epistle and narrative satire, frequently dealing with the state of British politics and economics – shows the Scottish poet employing his national language within a poetic armoury as sophisticated as those of his English contemporaries such as Alexander Pope. Indeed, Pope was one of the many English subscribers to Ramsay's showpiece edition of his Poems (1721).

Ramsay's reading of the trajectory of modern Scottish culture, and his dissent from this in his creative and cultural labours, were crucial influences in the Scots poetic revival of the 18th century upon which such later poets as Robert Fergusson (1750-74) and, ultimately, Robert Burns (1759-96) were to build. ●



# ENTER THE FIRST 'PRIME MINISTER'



■ **Man of influence** John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll.



■ **Man of vision** Sir Robert Walpole chose men who could deliver.

**A new breed of politician emerges to control money, power and government business - meet the manager**

**F**rom 1722, Sir Robert Walpole of Norfolk used his post as First Lord of the Treasury and de facto Leader of the House of Commons to become what is generally acknowledged to be the first British Prime Minister. He used his mastery of financial detail, his skill in Commons debate, and his willingness, it must be said, to resort to bribery and corruption to expand his influence and dominate British politics from 1722 to 1742.

He expanded executive authority in the British political system, consolidated the central role of the Treasury in government administration, and brought sophisticated financial policy to the centre of government business in a manner that elevated

the influence of money and power over that of ideas and political commitment.

In later years, David Hume would amuse his contemporaries by writing an essay on why Walpole, as an immoral politician subject to financial irregularity in his government, should create a climate of political stability. It made the expansion of the modern British commercial economy possible and brought access to leisure, entertainment and urban culture generally, to an expanding middle class of landed gentry, merchants and professionals across most of the country.

After the British parliamentary elections of 1722, as Walpole began to consolidate his power at Westminster, he became increasingly

aware of problems relating to collection of tax revenue in Scotland. His efforts at the British Treasury to address these problems led to widespread resistance in Scotland, bringing a breakdown of law and order in 1725.

This was associated with the attempted extension of the British Malt Tax into Scotland and the so-called Shawfield Riots which broke out in Glasgow. This led to the destruction of the town house of Glasgow's Member of Parliament, John Campbell of Shawfield, because he had voted with the government for extension of the tax.

Feelings ran high in Glasgow because in addition to efforts to introduce a Malt Tax, Walpole had instigated a shakeup in the collection ►



In spite of a reputation for his immoral approach to government, his legacy was a climate of political stability

► of Customs duties on tobacco. This was aimed at ending the widespread fraud that had allowed Glasgow tobacco merchants to compete so effectively against their English equivalents after the Act of Union, particularly those in the north-west of England based at Whitehaven and Liverpool.

The scale of resistance in 1725 led the Walpole ministry to retreat from any intention to implement political union on a meaningful basis in Scotland, and instead to introduce a policy of marginalising Scotland in relation to Westminster politics.

Walpole abandoned the idea of governing Scotland through favouring all Unionist Scottish politicians equally, and adopted a policy of identifying those who would undertake the implementation of government policy in Scotland.

He found men who were prepared to do this in the persons of the second Duke of Argyll and his brother, the Earl of Islay, who headed the Campbell interest with its tradition of involvement in high politics in Scotland. It was the younger of these two aristocrats, Islay, trained as a lawyer in Glasgow and Holland, and already holding high office in Scotland who particularly became associated with the Walpole regime, to the extent that at the end of his life Walpole named Islay as one of his closest friends and associates.

This policy of what some have called 'salutary neglect' was not unique to Scotland. Local interests prepared to exchange political influence for freedom from interference by the central government emerged in many colonies of Britain in America and the West Indies as well as Ireland during the Walpole years. But in Scotland there was one essential difference. Whereas, between 1722 and 1742 many colonies and Ireland included their own parliaments and legislatures operating within the legal tradition of the Common Law



By the throat... Sir Robert Walpole stops the 'throttling' of the war secretary by Baron von Munchausen in protest against British plans in the War of Austrian Succession. This cartoon from 1741 shows a Cabinet Council in action.

of England, Scotland no longer had a parliament but retained a separate legal system based on the European Civil Law tradition. This was guaranteed continued existence under the terms of the Treaty of Union.

Islay, one of the commissioners who negotiated the Union, and with training in Scotland and Holland in Civil Law, was the perfect 'manager' to serve Walpole in Scotland.

He was not given the office of Secretary of State for Scotland after the Duke of Roxburgh was sacked

in 1725 in opposition to the Malt Tax which already held high legal status in Scotland and had served as a model for the Scottish Representative House of Lords at Westminster since 1708.

A holder of the Privy Seal of Scotland after 1705 he held one of the posts associated with the old Scottish civil law council from before 1707. In 1733 he exchanged this for the higher salary and prestige of the office of Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland (held in the 20th

century by the Secretary of State for Scotland, but before 1707 by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland as head of the Scottish legal system).

After 1725, Islay implemented a policy of government intervention in Scotland in conjunction with a number of talented Scottish lawyers he recruited, including the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Cullinsten near Inverness, and the nephew of the great Scottish patriot of the last Scottish Parliament, Andrew Fletcher. Unlike his famous





■ Right hand man the Earl of Islay, third Duke of Argyll, became Walpole friend and confidant.

uncle and namesake Fletcher became a government minister and a member of the Privy Council, and the title of Lord of the Isles.

The Campbell regime was based on Scots law and a feudal system. Thus it degree of combining judicial with executive aspects of government, rightly arousing the suspicion of those who feared any political party, which could act with the capacity with a judicial review.

It also, at least, was associated with the establishment in Scotland of the command of General Wade.

Wade's mission was the pacification of the Highlands, improving the roads, and military labour, but it required as it was in 1725 and Edinburgh after the Porteous riots in 1737.

Wade, an Irish Protestant, from the perspective of the papal authorities in Ireland and the security system represented to bear on Scotland.

Islay also began to intervene systematically in the institution of the Church of Scotland, particularly in the annual General Assembly. It was intent on establishing the principle that civil law had superior authority over the law of the church particularly in relation to the implementation of the Patronage Act of 1712, whereby the right of government or a landowner to appoint parish ministers in the

Church of Scotland was treated as a property right.

An extension of this policy led to intervention in the Scottish colleges. The idea was to establish political reliability under a Campbell regime, and to introduce a new curriculum intended to convert the Scottish colleges from seminaries – to train ministers into secular centres of learning that would teach a liberal science and humanities curriculum aimed at the sons of the gentry and the merchants.

It was also intended that tax collection in Scotland would be made more efficient as part of the responsibilities Islay and the Campbells undertook in Scottish government. In fact, this was never really implemented.

Although customs and excise officers were dismissed for corruption and misconduct after 1722 and the Malt Tax (at half the rate levied in England) was in theory introduced into Scotland after 1725, taxation in Scotland seldom produced income significant enough to do more than cover the costs of paying for administration in Scotland itself.

Was this deliberate policy by Islay? Both intend to create as much government patronage as possible in Scotland to buy loyalty to the regime and himself, rather than maximize income for the British Treasury.

Probably not, although the more creative element of Islay's policy was about economic development rather than intervention by the state. Islay

persuaded Walpole that only by stimulating economic activity in Scotland to increase wealth could tax revenue be raised in the long term.

In order to do this, investment was necessary – investment on a small scale in the form of a government commission to encourage fisheries and manufactures in Scotland, under the terms of promises recorded in the Treaty of Union but never implemented until 1727.

This also involved private investment in a new bank in Scotland, the Royal Bank of Scotland (which still prints Islay's portrait on its notes). It used the capital value of unredeemed debentures issued after the Treaty of Union by the British Treasury for the money promised in the Equivalent (Article XV) which could not then be covered in cash.

This would be a bank which could receive government tax revenue to help its cash flow, and a bank which by becoming the second chartered bank in a small country – created a banking system as precocious as the concept of the overdraft account (invented by the Royal Bank).

It was this dynamic economic and financial aspect of Islay's management often ignored in the more static accounts of these seemingly obscure years of Scottish government – which helped create the infrastructure for the economic and cultural development the country experienced in the second half of the century. ●

## TIMELINE

**1710**

Allan Ramsay opens his bookshop on Edinburgh's Royal Mile.

**1712**

Ramsay founds the Easy Club dedicated to Scottish culture.

**1719**

Spain sponsors small-scale Jacobite Rising in the West Highlands with 300 troops.

**1720**

Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' is published.

**1722**

Robert Walpole wins the British elections and ushers in a new style of politics.

**1724**

Major-General George Wade becomes Commander-in-Chief of the military in Scotland.

**1725**

Loyal Walpole ally, the Earl of Islay, is appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland.

**1726**

Wade begins the first stages of his extensive programme of road and bridge building in the North of Scotland.

**1733**

Islay is appointed Keeper of the Great Seal in Scotland.

**1735**

Wade builds impressive bridge over the Tay at Aberfeldy at a cost of around £4,000.

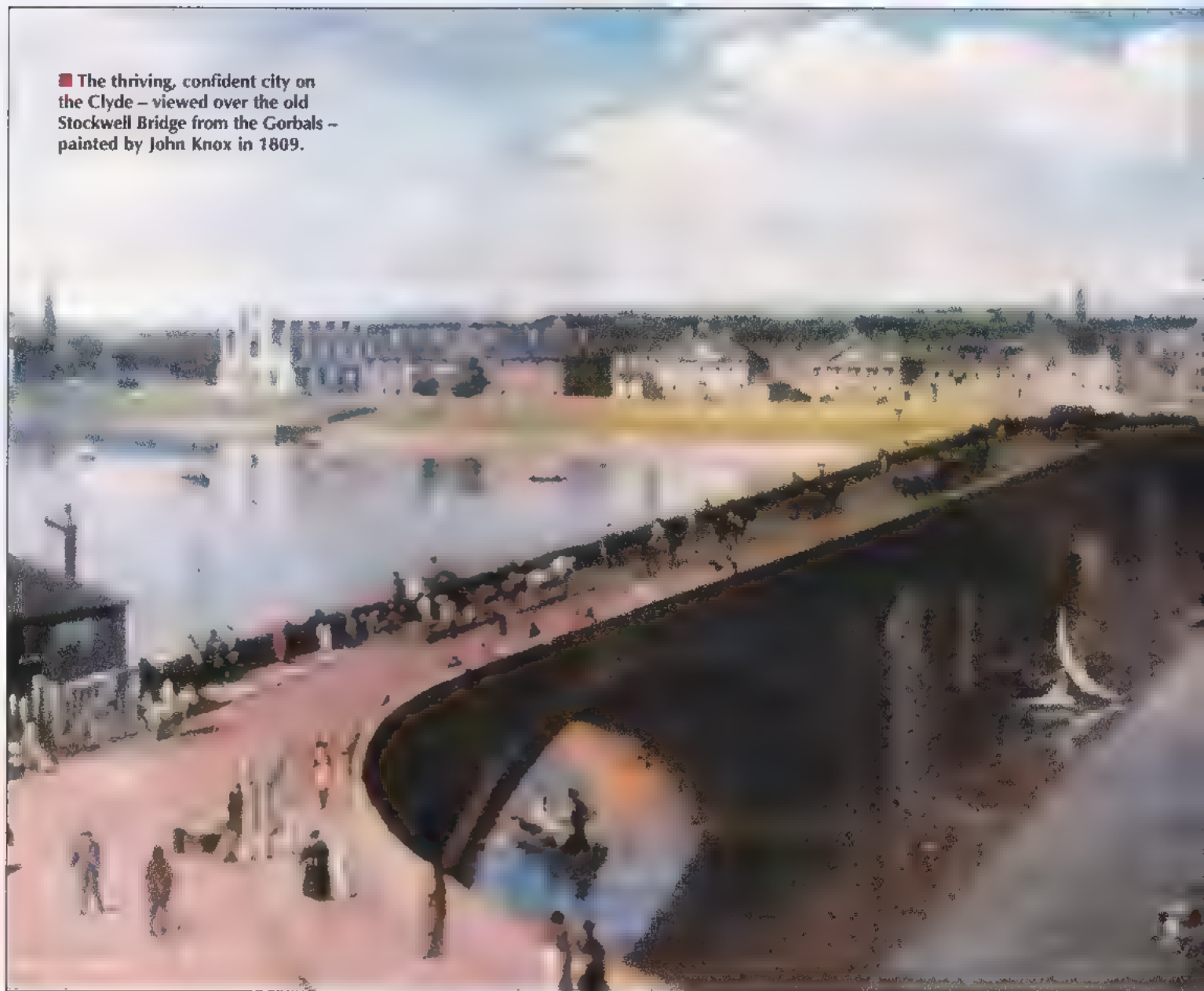
**1736**

Imposition of new Customs and Excise system leads to the Porteous Riots in Edinburgh.



# UPS AND DOWNS OF

■ The thriving, confident city on the Clyde – viewed over the old Stockwell Bridge from the Gorbals – painted by John Knox in 1809.



**Beautiful or ugly,  
rich or poor.**

**Glasgow's many  
images – born of  
historic trading  
fortunes won  
and lost – can  
both charm and  
confuse visitors**

*One of the cleanest, most beautiful and  
best built Cities in Great Britain.*  
(Daniel Defoe, 1727)

**I**n the last three centuries there have been many images of Glasgow, not all of them as positive as Defoe's. With changing circumstances, the town has constantly reinvented itself. In the early 18th century, most visitors agreed with Daniel Defoe's verdict, but the extremes of wealth and poverty in the 19th and 20th centuries brought different opinions.

The novelist Lewis Grassic Gibbon likened Glasgow to "a giant cataleptic vomit", its saving grace

being that "the maggots on it are very lively"

Although its citizens rioted in protest at the Act of Union in 1707, Glasgow was the city which ultimately gained most from the union of Scotland and England. Scotland had been trading with England's American colonies for decades, but the Union made it legal for the first time. The voyage across the Atlantic from Glasgow was between 14 and 20 days – less than that from London to Virginia.

Great personal fortunes were made by the Glasgow 'tobacco lords', and before the American War of Independence broke out in 1776,

half the tobacco coming into Europe was shipped through Glasgow from plantations managed by Glasgow merchants.

Glasgow already had a broad manufacturing and commercial base, which was strengthened through the efforts to supply the American colonists with all their needs, in exchange for the tobacco and cotton crops. Cloth of all kinds, household goods, soap, rope and candles were manufactured to fill the ships.

The smelly Candleriggs marked the western extremity of the town in the 17th century, and later, more noxious works, like the pewter factory of Stephen Maxwell, the



# A CLYDE-BUILT CITY



Glasgow Bottleworks, and the Delftfield Pottery Company were sited further west, all of them manufacturing for the colonies.

Maxwell's pewter mark was a little sailing ship and the words 'Success to the British Colonies'. The slogan was prudently changed to 'Success to the United States of America' after 1783.

Glasgow lost its stranglehold on the tobacco trade during the American Revolution. Nevertheless, the relationship with tobacco continued until the closure of the last factory in 1990.

From 1800 to 1968, Glasgow was a major producer of clay tobacco

pipes, and tenement stairs were cleaned and decorated with pipe clay, a by-product of the industry.

The Mitchell Library, at one time the biggest reference library in Europe, was funded by the fortune of tobacco processor Stephen Mitchell (1789-1874). A score of similar firms operated in the 19th century.

In many ways the key to Glasgow's economic growth was the river Clyde. It is often said that "the Clyde made Glasgow, and Glasgow made the Clyde".

The river was suitable only for barge traffic, until the engineering plans of John Golborne. The dredging and jetty construction

which followed, deepened the river to 14 feet by the early 1780s. Work continued in the 19th century, and the river to the present time has been regulated by the Clyde Navigation Trust.

In the 19th century, Glasgow built ships – from rowing boats to ocean going liners – for the rest of the world. The term "Clyde built" became synonymous with solid, reliable and durable construction in marine engineering.

Glasgow's shipbuilding magnates in the last two centuries – Fairfield, Pearce, Burrell, Scott, Lithgow – were among the world's wealthiest industrialists. The shipbuilding yards

lined the Clyde on both banks, from Anderston in central Glasgow, down river to Port Glasgow and Greenock, and were a principal source of employment until the 1960s.

It can be truly said that the industrial revolution was born on the common Green of Glasgow. Inventor and scientist James Watt left a detailed description of how he worked out the principle of the separate condenser during a Sunday stroll on Glasgow Green on a fine day in 1765.

Steam power replaced water power, and the cotton spinning and weaving mills, formerly dependent upon water power from country ►



■ **Bustling: the Trongate of Glasgow painted in 1826 by John Knox.**



► rivers, could be moved to the towns, beside the population. As the mechanised and cheap production of cotton led to the death of the handloom weaving trade and the native linen industry, people flocked to Glasgow in search of work in the factories. Developments in industrial chemistry, and the perfection of bleaching and dyeing techniques, led to the abandonment of the country bleachfields in favour of industrial, factory-based processes

"The secret dye works" where the turkey red dyeing process was introduced in 1785, was in the east of Glasgow, and until the demise of the industry in the 1960s, it was controlled from Glasgow

Engineering plants which made the machinery for industry - power looms, sugar-refining machinery, and so on - were developed to meet the needs of industry and operated

alongside the iron and steel trades, and transport industries

Glasgow's industry always had a good business and commercial base. The first Chamber of Commerce in the British Isles (second in the world, New York being the first) was established in Glasgow by Patrick Colquhoun in 1783. It still works, together with the Trades House, Merchants House and the newer agencies, for the commercial health of Glasgow

At the end of the 20th century it was still true to say that "Edinburgh is the Capital but Glasgow has the capital"

As with the city's accumulation of wealth, the population growth of Glasgow was spectacular in the 19th century. At the time of the Union in 1707, it was around 12,700. This had doubled by the mid-18th century, and risen to 77,000 by the



■ Tobacco lord John Glassford and family in their Trongate mansion (1767).





beginning of the 19th century. By 1831 it was 202,000; by 1861 it was 448,000, and by 1891 it was 858,000. When the century turned the figure stood at over a million, including the suburban districts.

'Workshop of the World' and 'Second City of the Empire' were phrases commonly used to describe Glasgow's size and industrial strength in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Durbar Palace in Qatar, India, completed in 1912 exemplifies Glasgow's capacity for manufacture and export.

The Palace was made of cast iron by Walter Macfarlane and Co.'s Saracen Foundry. The stained glass was made by Oscar Paterson of Glasgow and the carpets came from James Templeton and Co.'s east end factory.

Industrialisation of Glasgow was achieved at a price. The merchants and their agents who managed the tobacco, cotton and sugar plantations in the American colonies and West Indies were adept at operating a comparable form of slavery at home.

They imposed long hours, low wages and appalling working conditions for the people who

created their wealth. In the 19th century, the slum dwellings of central Glasgow were breeding grounds of disease and epidemics including smallpox, typhus and cholera. There were cholera epidemics in 1832, 1848-9 and 1853-4 – a problem which was controlled only by the introduction

of a fresh water supply for the city from Loch Katrine in 1859.

Fine Medieval and 17th-century houses were irredeemable slums by the time the City Improvement Trust was set up to deal with them in 1866.

The University moved west with the wealthy, abandoning its site in the disease-ridden High Street for the fresh air of Gilmorehill in 1871.

Asked to comment on Glasgow's fine buildings and galleries, the journalist George Augustus Sala said they were like "the brass handle on the pigsty door". The people of Glasgow responded to such social injustices with organised protest. When the weavers of cotton went on strike in 1787 in protest against starvation wages, the military, on the Lord Provost's orders, opened fire – and six weavers died. They were the first trade union martyrs in a struggle for social, industrial and political justice, the history of which is as interesting and as important as that

of the rest of Glasgow, but is often denied by some historians who talk of the Red Clydeside 'myth'.

Glasgow was the birthplace of several revolutionary movements and parties – the 1820 Rising, the Temperance Movement in 1829, Co-operation in 1830, the Scottish Labour Party in 1888, the Women's Peace Crusade of 1919, the Scottish Workers' Republican Party of John Maclean in 1923, and the Scottish

## As Glasgow has changed, the transformation of welders into wine waiters has been painful for those involved

Socialist Party of Tommy Sheridan in the 1980s, to name but a few.

The working people of Glasgow were in the forefront of the movement for political reform. Thomas Muir was transported to Australia in 1793 for advocating this cause, together with other Friends of the People.

The 'Radical War' of 1820 resulted in many being transported, and the movement's leaders being executed, on slender evidence. Some of the biggest demonstrations in Britain for political reform in 1832, 1866 and 1884, took place in Glasgow.

Glasgow women were in the forefront of the suffrage movement and the Glasgow Rent Strike of 1916, which forced the Prime Minister to pass the Rent Restriction Act, was one of the acknowledged victories against exploitation.

Glaswegians have also embraced social and political justice causes abroad, forming the biggest foreign contingents in Garibaldi's Italian army in the 1860s, and in the war against fascism in Spain (1936-1938).

The economic, social and political dramas of Glasgow's history have given the city a rich cultural tradition. Periodically, Glasgow has shown its worth to the world through events such as the great International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 and their successors. These include the Scottish National Exhibition of 1911, the Empire Exhibition of 1938, the Glasgow Garden Festival of 1988, City of Culture Year 1990 and City of Architecture Year 1999. Most have been seen as successes.

The de-industrialisation process of the latter half of the 20th century has been painful for those involved in the so-called economic miracle of transforming welders into wine waiters. Glaswegians cope through their own humour, born in adversity.

Glasgow comedians like Chic Murray, Rikki Fulton, and Billy Connolly are world class. There are also rich cultural traditions, exemplified in the writings of Alasdair Gray and James Kelman, and in the poetry of Edwin Morgan, Tom Leonard and Liz Lochhead. ●



■ 1930s tin for tobacco made by the Mitchell family (of Library fame).

of a fresh water supply for the city from Loch Katrine in 1859.

Fine Medieval and 17th-century houses were irredeemable slums by the time the City Improvement Trust was set up to deal with them in 1866.

The University moved west with



# JIMMY – SHY LORD OF OF THE DANCE MUSIC

When the General Strike came along, the Shand band followed to cheer everyone up



■ Jimmy Shand (seated, second from right) and his Band: an essential feature of the BBC's Hogmanay television shows for 21 years.

In his youth, it seemed inevitable that Scotland's shy lord of the dance music would spend his working hours in the coal mines. Jimmy Shand was born in 1908 in the Fife pit village of Wemyss, one of nine children. As was fairly typical in those times, he started work underground immediately on leaving school at 14.

A few years later came the General Strike, and Shand's family like so many others, was reduced to desperate straits. He decided then that he would never go down the mine again, and he never did.

Instead, he enjoyed a stroke of luck that transformed his life and made him known to millions, especially Scots, across the world. Shand's father, a former ploughman, was a dab hand with the melodeon, a small accordion or 'button box' as it's known in Scottish dance music circles.

Young Jimmy picked up this interest in music, first trying the mouth organ but changing to the melodeon at the age of five.

By 1926, at the time of the General Strike, he was an

already gifted player but hardly a professional. He moved from his home village of Wemyss to Dundee with a passion for the accordion in the window of an instrument shop run by a man named Charlie Forbes.

Shand's pal persuaded him to go to the shop and try out some of the instruments, although he had no money and no prospect of buying one. But the shop owner recognised Shand's ability on the instrument and offered him a job as a salesman. He then had to demonstrate the instruments to potential buyers.

But Charlie Forbes went further and set up a recording session for Jimmy Shand, and on the old wax discs he brought out a selection of jigs and hornpipes in 1933.

Shand has told interviewers "That was the hardest day's work I ever put in. At that time, I knew nothing about notation, how to read and write music. I just played what I knew."

"But I was thrilled when I heard the playback because I knew I had a different style from any other

Scottish country dance player making records."

So began a career which made him the most famous Scottish dance music bandleader ever.

He quickly learned the mysteries of musical notation and has written literally hundreds of tunes and made scores of records, including his 'Bluebell Polka' which was once an unlikely leader of the pop music hit charts. He has won gold and platinum discs, but says he has no idea how many records he has sold in total, although it runs into millions.

"We've made a good living," he told an interviewer, "but I've never been a millionaire."

In his younger years, though, he was able to indulge in a passion for motor bikes and sailing boats. He is a man of few words, renowned for his shyness, and this has often been misinterpreted by those who don't know him well.

One Canadian newspaper mischievously likened him to "a Presbyterian minister presenting the Scottish Cup to Celtic."

But the musicians who worked in

his bands during his 65-year playing career respected his insistence on musical precision. For three years in succession he won the Carl Alan Award, the 'Oscar' of dance music.

His first tour abroad was to Canada in 1959, and this was also the first time he wore the kilt on the platform.

At home, Jimmy Shand & His Band was an essential element of the BBC's Hogmanay television shows in which he appeared, incredibly, for 21 New Years on the trot.

Jimmy Shand was made MBE in 1962, had a racehorse named after him in Australia and a railway locomotive in Britain.

He was knighted in 1998 – but he had long been known fondly by his admirers as the Laird o' Auchtermuchty.

Yet as his playing years drew to a close, this great international artiste would still perform free for local hospitals and to help the handicapped.

One of his sons is handicapped while another, Jimmy Shand Jr, has followed his father into the profession that he enhanced for so many decades. ●





■ Andy was on stage belting out his songs up to his second last day.

# The super trouper

**Like his Scottish Soldier, he wandered far. But Andy Stewart was loved at home too**

**T**he great tartan trouper's last show was a charity event in Edinburgh's Usher Hall in 1993. The aim was to raise funds for Scotland's first children's hospice, and Andy Stewart was one of the stars who gave their performances free. But next day, he died at his home in Arbroath.

The comedian and singer of Scottish songs was only 59, but had been living on borrowed time after two heart bypass operations.

Johnny Beattie, who shared the billing at that final show, described Stewart as "the greatest Scottish entertainer since Sir Harry Lauder".

Born in Govan and brought up in Angus, he trained for the stage at drama college in Glasgow, but turned away from acting to develop his own style as a singer and comic. He was the lynchpin of 'The White Heather Club',

a long-running TV variety programme, which brought him great popularity in Scotland. But it was not until 1960, when he recorded his song 'A Scottish Soldier', that he became an international star. The record sold three million copies and stayed in the US Top Fifty for more than a year.

This launched him into a demanding series of tours as Scottish expatriate communities all over the world clamoured for his shows. He took the company to Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, and once visited 50 American towns and cities during a single tour. But because of a rare blood disorder, his health began to deteriorate from 1972 onwards.

Sometimes appearances had to be cancelled at the last moment. But doggedly and courageously, Andy Stewart gave everything he had until time ran out.

## Glasgow humour personified

**Dave Willis was a favourite of his home town**

**B**orn David Williams in Glasgow in 1894, Dave Willis belonged to what you might call the second wave of Scots comedians.

Harry Lauder and Will Fyfe were established on the variety stage before Willis, who would adopt a trademark toothbrush moustache, made his debut in Edinburgh in 1920 as part of a double act.

Through the Thirties and Forties, the heritage of the 'Scotch' comic survived, with many of them only pretending to come from Glasgow – for that city was where the big audiences were for music hall. But Willis, like

Tommy Lorne and Tommy Morgan, was a genuine Glaswegian and was always warmly received in his home town.

He made a London debut in 1932, and four years later was the star of the Scottish Royal Variety Show at the Edinburgh Empire.

Willis did branch into films as a sort of novelty performer but, we are told, his strong accent ruled him out as an actor.

He was, though, one of the stage stalwarts who carried the music hall tradition and the once-popular summer shows into the age of television, which would finally kill it off in the Fifties. Dave Willis died in 1973.



■ The strong Willis accent ruled him out as an actor.



# Castle nights that can

**Screaming hunchbacks and sword fighters to the death: the ghosts of Glamis terrified two female sceptics**

**N**o self-respecting ancient Scottish castle can exist without its ghost. Such apparitions usually come in fairly generic forms: the ghostly piper, the headless woman, the deranged son and heir. Glamis Castle in Angus, one of the most internationally recognisable Scottish piles, is no exception.

The historic seat of the earls of Strathmore, this fortress boasts not one but many spirits. Within one of the ancient towers with its massively thick walls, there are spirits known only to the earl, his heir and the factor. Nocturnal disturbances have been experienced by many visitors, fully understood by the earl but never explained.

One notable account comes from a description passed on in written form by a Miss Bond.

As a young girl in her first season in society, Miss Bond stayed at the castle. A sensible, practical young woman, she had no fears about staying in Glamis. She was entirely dismissive about the prospect of being scared by any paranormal existence. As a modern young girl, she was a firm non-believer in ghosts.

So much a sceptic was she that Miss Bond specifically asked for a room in the ancient Square Tower. She knew nothing of the secret hauntings or the hidden chamber where the manifestations took place.

The early part of the day in question went well. The journey to the castle and the bracing weather gave Miss Bond a good appetite for the evening meal. Indeed, she said it was one of the finest she had eaten. An hour before midnight, she was ready for bed. Her maid had prepared the young mistress for retiring for the night and left her alone.

The night was still. No storms blew outside. Although the tower was ancient, the furniture in the bedroom was modern. There were no examples of heavy wooden carvings which might project fiendish shadows on the bare walls of the room. No heavy tapestries covering entrances to secret passageways. In Miss Bond's own words, the room was "cosy and cheerful". Neither ghosts nor ghouls

occupied the young woman's mind as she drifted off to sleep. But within only a few minutes, Miss Bond felt her mind and body transported out of the bedroom and into another. This strangely-shaped room had a high ceiling and heavy, wooden-beamed floor. Far above the highest point she could reach, a single window was the only opening allowing daylight or night light in.

To Miss Bond, the furniture of this new room was more suited to a prison or an asylum. A coarse table, a straw mattress and a bench were the only items in the room. Fear and horror permeated the place. The young girl was now consumed with terror and alarm. She was convinced that something was about to happen.

The suspense heightened with every passing minute. Yet for so long there was only stillness.

At length something moved. There was now an identifiable presence in the room. Slowly, it grew. The form seemed human but grossly distorted. The legs were crooked and misshapen. The body hunched and contorted. The arms and hands dangled and swung helplessly. The head was grotesque, huge and bestial and covered in grey hair. The face was gaunt, white and glaring malevolently. This was a beast – awful and hideous.

With heavy ape-like movements, it shuffled round the room then returned to its sprawling position on the heavy wooden floor. At that point the door of the fearsome room opened. A form shrouded in black stood in the doorway and a fearsome scream resounded everywhere.

As readers may have already deduced, Miss Bond was in fact in a dream which was ended sharply by the terrifying shriek. But she was not back in her "cosy and cheerful" room.

The whole tower, the massive walls, even the rafters shook with the most piercing screeches the young woman had ever heard. They lasted for what seemed like minutes. Whether they were human or animal she was unable to tell, but the dreadful screams remained with her for the rest of her life.

Other guests claim to have seen the pathetic, deformed hunchback, but





# convert non-believers



■ Strange nocturnal disturbances have been often experienced by many visitors to Glamis Castle, and the Square Tower – the oldest part – seems to be particularly prone to them.

what was it? There is a legend that, in centuries past, an heir to the earldom was born hideously deformed and was hidden away in the tower.

The second tale comes from the same year and is also retold by a woman. Although not her real name, she has become known as Miss Macginney. She stayed at Glamis for one week, and like Miss Bond, arrived a sceptic and left a convert.

Her first day at the castle was in weather more in keeping with this type of tale. A fierce blizzard blasted over the countryside and made the success of her arrival constantly in doubt. Hours later, her coach finally arrived. Huge glowing fires and warm candle light in every room helped Miss Macginney to thaw out and forget the horrors of her trip.

She was given a room in the oldest part of the castle – the Square Tower, and some jocular warnings from the other guests that the whole ancient edifice was haunted. Given what she had been through that day already, she had no intention of being frightened by anything dressed in a white sheet.

Indeed, given that the blizzard was at its height as she retired to bed just before midnight, she felt that any ghost would need herculean strength to battle through the driven snow. For Miss Macginney, this would not be a night for a spirit to glide past her window or through the walls.

Within minutes of blowing out her bedside candle, Miss Macginney was sound asleep. Whatever awoke her she did not know, but the rapid beating of her heart made her all too aware she was on the verge of an attack of panic. It was not the sound of the storm because all was eerily still. The blizzard had stopped, moonlight shone through her curtains and the sky was clear. Why had she woken with such a start?

While she had found it seemingly easy to fall asleep with a raging cyclone ensuing, she found it impossible to do so in the deathly hush that enveloped the castle. Miss Macginney became afraid. In her previously warm bed she became icy cold. She shivered uncontrollably. She anticipated the worst. She knew something was going to happen.

Gripped by fear, she knew the realms of sleep were beyond her. All

she could do was to lie and wait for the impending doom.

What she heard first was a deadened repetitive noise, the origin of which was impossible to determine. Whether outside the castle or inside she could not tell until the clamour became louder, closer and more distinct. Footsteps were racing up the staircase and into the long corridor leading to her room. Determined to protect herself before the intruders arrived, she tried to get out of bed to barricade her door. But she could not move.

As the sounds grew nearer, the lady could identify the clashing of steel. She was listening to a sword fight. She could hear the gasping of the protagonists as they struggled in their duel. As she was forced to interpret the noises, she realised that this was not a duel between equals but a fight between the pursuer and the pursued. This was a fight for life – to the death. The fugitive reached the heavy wooden bedroom door first. He gasped for breath. The attacker followed at speed and the bodies of the two men thrashed against the wooden beams and panels of the bedroom door.

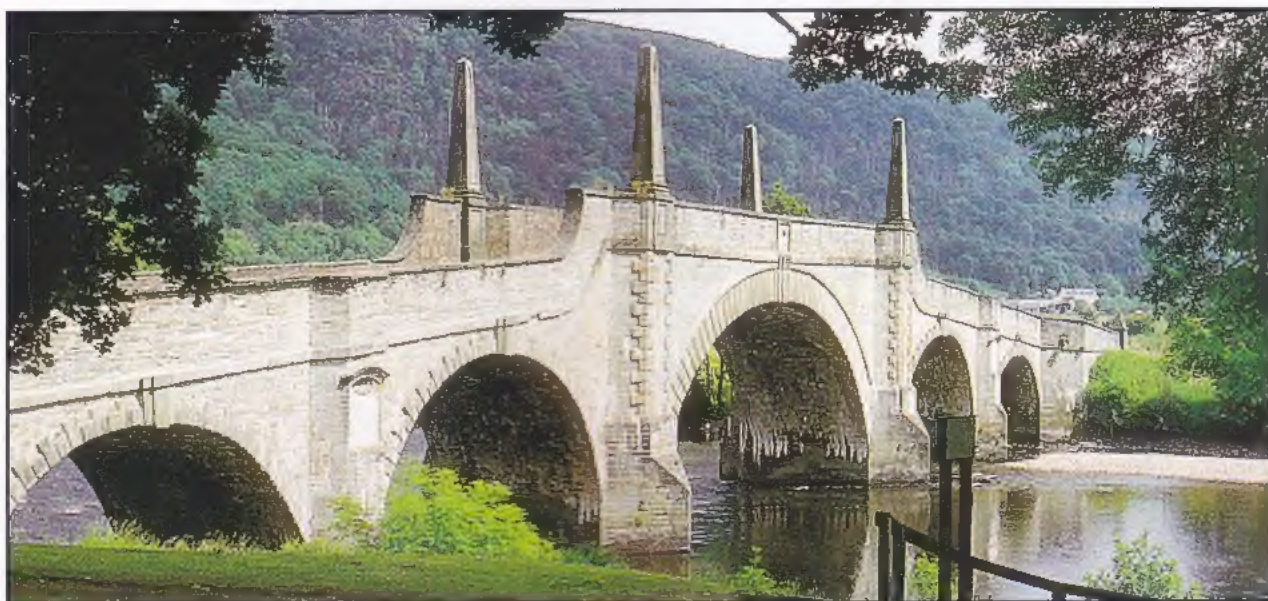
What must have been a fatal blow was struck by one man against the other. Groans that became gurgling came from near ground level. Metal hit metal in a single blow that convinced the terrified Miss Macginney that not only were swords being used, but that at least one man was equipped with a battle axe. The sound of armour slithering down the wooden bedroom door meant the death of one was only moments away. Now the clash ceased and groaning faded. Only one man, out of breath, remained alive.

Then she saw, seeping under the base of the door in an ever-widening arc, a deep red liquid. Surely the blood of the murdered man. The lady cried out in anguish. A moment later, the door of the room, although locked, was opened slowly. At this point her overstretched nerves gave way – and she fainted. The night of horror was over.

But what had she witnessed? The ghostly echo of a long-forgotten duel to the death? Perhaps only the earl, his heir and his factor know for sure. ●



# Wade's marvels of sweat and toil



■ What is probably General Wade's finest bridge – across the river Tay at Aberfeldy – still carries modern motor traffic.

Every time I drive the route of one of General Wade's roads, I marvel at the sweat and toil that went into their construction. Hundreds of miles of roads were built – Wade's programme itself was responsible for around 250 miles of construction – and a great number of rivers and burns bridged, all in the days before heavy machinery, when the average worker had to use a shovel and wheelbarrow.

Part of me is saddened, though, as these roads also represent the end of the Highland way of life as it was, their initial purpose being the pacification of the unruly Highlands by a London government.

Probably Wade's most famous road was his route north from Dunkeld to Inverness, crossing the Grampians. Much of this road has been superseded by the modern A9.

Another road commenced at Crieff, and ran from here through the Sma' Glen to Aberfeldy, and crossed the river Tay by what is probably Wade's finest bridge, which today still carries modern motor traffic. It was completed in 1735 and its total cost was around £4,000. Its five arches are described as "elegant and substantial" by various guide books.

At one end of the bridge stands the Black Watch Monument, built in 1887 to commemorate inauguration



**Impressive though it is, the General's network of Scottish roads also saddens biker historian David Ross**

of the Black Watch Regiment in October, 1739.

The road from Aberfeldy continued north over the Perthshire hills by way of Tummel – the bridge there is also a work of Wade – and connected with the main north route at Dalnacardoch in Glen Garry, a little below the Drumochter Pass.

General Wade had a hut at Dalnacardoch, which eventually became an inn, and in later years Bonnie Prince Charlie spent a night within its walls.

On the completion of this section of road, an eight-foot-high pillar of stone was raised. It stands about two miles north west of Dalnacardoch, in a lovely setting. It has carved upon it the date 1729, and is known locally as 'The Wade Stone'.

Wade was a man of great stature, and he managed to reach up and place a coin on the top of the stone. He revisited the site a year later, and was surprised when he again reached up and found the coin was still there.

North of the Drumochter Pass, a spur forked west from the main north-south route to Inverness, and cut over to the side of Loch Ness by the famous Corrieयरack Pass. The road here reaches the top of the 2,500ft pass in a series of steep zig-zags. This spur connected with the military road Wade constructed

connecting Fort William and Inverness.

The main motor road today between these two towns follows the line of Wade's original, excepting the Loch Ness stretch. Wade's road was on the loch's south side, whereas the modern road follows its north side.

From the spur at Drumochter, the main route north passes the ruins of Ruthven Barracks at Kingussie. These barracks were also the work of General Wade.

Wade was relieved of his command in Scotland in 1740 and played a military role in later campaigns, including the '45 rising. He died in Bath in 1748, aged 75, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The best known of his successors was General Caulfield, who continued the road-building programme. He supposedly penned the famous lines:

*If you'd seen these roads before they were made,*

*You'd lift up your hands, and bless General Wade.*

By the end of the 18th century, there were 1,103 miles of these roads.

They opened up the Highlands for travellers from the south – and their influences – but, as already mentioned, it was a double-edged sword as the improvement in communications also ended much of the Highland way of life. ●



# Scotland's Story

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The Porteous Mob in 1736: City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries; The Porteous Mob by James Drummond: SNPG. p10/11 Battle of Glenshiel by Peter Tillemans; George Keith 10th Earl of Marischal by Pierre Parocel: SNPG. p12/13/14/15 The Highland Dance and Sir John Halkett by David Allan: SNPG. p16/17/18 Allan Ramsay by William Aitkin: SNPG; The Gentle Shephard: CEAC; Allan Ramsay's Shop by Henry Duguid: SNPG.p19/20/21 Robert Walpole and 2nd Duke of Argyll

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p22/23/24/25 Panorama of Glasgow by John Knox; John Glassford and Family by Archibald McLaughlin; The Trongate of Glasgow; Stephen Mitchell's Tam O'Shanter Tobacco Tin; Glasgow From the Green; St Mungo Shortbread: Glasgow Museums; Strike of the Calton Weaver Mural by Ken Currie; Glasgow Tobacco Lord by Virginia Colley; p26/27 Jimmy Shand © Daily Mirror. p28/29 Glamis Castle: Glamis Castle.p30 Aberfeldy Bridge: Perthshire Tourist Board.

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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

NEXT WEEK IN PART 33

## Bonnie Prince Charlie



When the supporters of Prince Charles Edward Stuart raised the Jacobite Standard at Glenfinnan in 1745, they held aloft hopes that a dramatic victory might be achieved – one that would overthrow the Hanoverian regime and restore Scotland's ancient Stuart monarchy to its British thrones. This was the Jacobites' last throw of the dice. . .

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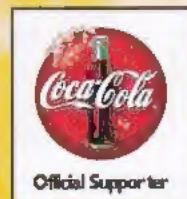
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